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PETRONIUS AND THE EMPERORS, I: ALLUSIONS IN THE SATYRICON

The age of Nero was a period during which satire by innuendo had replaced open rebuke.¹ In spite of the dissent of a goodly company of writers, from Voltaire²

to Sage,³ who seem to have held that any resemblance to actual persons living or dead is purely coincidental, it is probable that several of Trimalchio's eccentricities are subtle girds at the emperor Nero. Indeed, the cautious recognition of certain rollicking allusions to specific personages and events of the Julio-Claudian court appears, *ex hypothesi*, to be both sound literary criticism and good history. This suggestion is well worthy of some elaboration. Even Boissier, though admitting the topical quality of Petronius' satire as directed in some part upon the court of Nero, thought the *Arbiter Elegantiarum* always laughed with Nero and wrote the *Satyricon* to please the emperor himself.⁴ Rather, the ascertainable facts continue to suggest that while we possess in the *Satyricon* no full-length portrait of any historical personage, many of the traits and incidents, far from being imaginary, are borrowed from well-known persons and events to create atmosphere.⁵ Most

¹ Harald Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt* (Berlin 1938) 15. For a review of this work, by Michael Ginsburg, see *CW* 34 (1940/41) 30-31. Useful, but not (in my opinion) without serious errors of judgment is Gaston Boissier, *L'opposition sous les Césars* (Paris 1892). Acid wit rendered denunciations by inference popular. Thus Mallonia, as she died, cursed Tiberius as *obscenus ore, hirsutus atque olidus senex*. Shortly afterward an Atellan farce contained the line *Hircum vetulum capreis naturam ligurire*, which brought down the house (Suetonius *Tib.* 45). Datus the actor was banished by Nero for the line "Now Orcus guides your steps" spoken with a gesture toward the Senate-house (Suetonius *Nero* 39).

² Voltaire, no doubt projecting conditions of the eighteenth century, visualized the *Satyricon* as a portrayal of student-life and its author as himself a student. See *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Paris 1785) XLVII 5, note 1: "... quel rapport d'un vieux financier grossier et ridicule [sc. Trimalchio] & de sa vieille femme, qui n'est qu'une bourgeoise impertinente, qui fait mal au cœur, avec un jeune empereur & son épouse la jeune Octavie, ou la jeune Popée? Quel rapport des débauches & des larcins de quelques écoliers fripons avec les plaisirs du maître du monde?"

³ Evan T. Sage (ed.), *Petronius, The Satyricon* (New York and London 1929) xxiii, 209.

⁴ Boissier *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1) 219-270, esp. 253: "Déjà Horace amusait Mécène des maladroites de Nasidienus; Pétrone égaya Néron des folies de Trimalchion."

⁵ See the recent tentative study of historical allusions by Pierre Grimal, "Sur quelques noms propres de la Cena Trimalchionis," *RevPhil* 16 (1942) 161-168. Sketchily documented but discerni-

of these allusions we can no longer recognize; but a number of comic reminiscences of the emperor Nero may, I think, be discerned.

I

Let us particularize. In an episode which must have achieved no little notoriety, Nero was spattered with blood when an acrobat impersonating Icarus fell during the games.⁶ In the *Cena* Trimalchio proclaims, "There is nothing in the world I would rather watch than acrobats." Just as he is speaking the gymnast's boy slips and falls right on top of him, causing blood to spurt from his arm.⁷ At this point Petronius pens a curious side-remark: *Conclamavit familia, nec minus concitae, non propter hominem tam putidum, cuius et cervicis fractas libenter vidissent, sed propter malum exitum cenae ne necesse haberent alienum mortuum plorare*. Who is the *homo tam putidus* whose neck everyone would have been quite content to see broken? The acrobat? Perhaps; but the death of a slave-boy would scarcely have terminated the banquet (*malum exitum cenae*). Moreover, the boy is apparently uninjured. Trimalchio? It seems out of key for our host to be called a stranger (*alienum*). *Putidum*, as an overt judgment upon Trimalchio, would be a departure from Petronius' manner of allowing the great bore to convict himself. (Elsewhere during the meal the guests are duly deferential to the *lautissimus homo*.⁸) The passage acquires point, however, if it is an archly framed rapier-thrust at the emperor. Even the reference to

the "stranger" may have significance, if Suetonius is correct when he says Nero seldom presided at the games, but viewed them in seclusion through a small aperture in his box.⁹ However that may be, it is difficult to suppose that Petronius did not have the Icarus incident in mind when he described the fall of the acrobat's boy.

We have epigraphic evidence that between 63 and 68 A.D. Nero had a favorite slave named Carpus,¹⁰ evidently the original of Carpus, Trimalchio's famous carver.¹¹ In Nero's Golden House there were on the testimony of Suetonius¹² "dining-rooms with fretted ceilings of ivory, whose panels could turn and shower down flowers and were fitted with pipes for sprinkling the guests with perfumes." The same wonderful contrivance reappears in burlesque form in the dining-hall of Trimalchio: "... panels in the ceiling suddenly opened, and there was let down an enormous hoop, such

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nating and with some useful generalizations is E. Coechia, "La satira e la parodia nel Satiricon . . .," *RFIC* 25 (1897) 388-404. On allusions to personages of Julio-Claudian times, see Ettore Paratore (ed.), *Il Satiricon di Petronio* (Florence 1933) I 11-30, and *infra*, notes 60-62. Paratore's discussion, though somewhat diffuse, takes a careful middle course between excess either of ingenuity or of scepticism, focussing on the contemporaneity of the author of the *Satyricon* with Nero rather than on allusions to that emperor *per se*. We must regret particularly the loss of Plutarch's life of Nero, attested by the catalogue of Lamprias (J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* [Hamburg 1708-1728] III 347). Plutarch had a way of digging up facts about contemporary opposition. For example, his *Pericles*, Chapters 31-32, drastically supplements Thucydides on the immediate internal crisis which seems to have inclined Pericles to adopt a policy of provocation toward Lacedaemon as a means of restoring his personal political fortunes.

⁶ Suetonius *Nero* 12.

⁷ Petronius 54.1.

⁸ Petronius 26.9; *laudatus propter elegantias* (34.7); *gratias agimus liberalitati indulgentiaeque eius* (47.7); *tam elegantes strophas* (60.1).

⁹ Suetonius *Nero* 12.

¹⁰ Pierre Grimal, "Note à Pétrone, *Satyricon* XXXVI," *Rev. Phil* 15 (1941) 19-20. Needless to say, there were other freedmen and slaves named Carpus in the Roman Empire. See E. Lommatzsch, *RhM* 52 (1897) 303-304.

¹¹ Petronius 36.5-8.

¹² *Nero* 31. Stephen Phillips uses the episode in his tragedy *Nero* (London 1906), Act 2, p. 89.

as might have been knocked off a huge barrel, from which were suspended gilded wreaths and alabaster boxes of perfume."¹³ It is an extremely subtle point and part of Petronius' drollery to emphasize the fear which this device inspired in the guests: *Consternatus ego exsurrexi et timui*, says Encolpius. This strange fear is explicable as a veiled reference to Nero's attempt to take Agrippina's life by arranging to have a dislodged segment of the ceiling fall upon her.¹⁴ One may well imagine that this sinister actual occurrence, which transfixed everyone with horror,¹⁵ cannot have been far from peoples' thoughts at the mention of detachable ceilings.

Further comic innuendos pointed at Nero obtrude themselves with rather less indirection. In the disguise of a soldier and wearing a leather helmet, the emperor played pranks and assaulted passers-by in the streets at night.¹⁶ Similarly, Encolpius is accosted at night in a street or portico by a shadowy figure; he observes significantly that he could not make out whether this person was a soldier or a *nocturnus grassator*.¹⁷

Nero possessed two favorite drinking-cups carved with scenes from Homer, which he called, somewhat illiterately, his *Homerics*.¹⁸ We are reminded of Trimalchio's passion for Homer, of the scenes from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in Trimalchio's atrium,¹⁹ of his *Homeristae*,²⁰ of his celebrated "boners" upon Homer:

Diomedes and Ganymede were two brothers, and they had a sister named Helen. Agamemnon carried her off and left a hind in her place for Diana. So Homer tells of the war between the Trojans and Parentines. Natu-

rally, Agamemnon won, and gave Iphigenia his daughter to wife to Achilles. This drove Ajax mad, as you shall presently see . . .²¹

and

I ask you, what is Corinthian ware unless what comes from the dealer Corinthus? And just so you don't think me a ninny, I know right well where the Corinthian stuff came from. What time Troy fell, Hannibal, that cunning rogue and mighty scoundrel, piled up all the brass, gold and silver images on one great pyre and set it afire. That's how the bronze amalgam was fashioned. . . .²²

(In extenuation of these unconscious *bon mots* let it be remarked that even Cicero, in *De gloria*, wrote Ajax for Hector,²³ that he misquotes Polyphemus,²⁴ makes his mother bathe Ulysses' feet instead of his nurse,²⁵ and puts the name of Pelias for Aeson as the subject of Medea's successful experiment in rejuvenation.²⁶ A periodical devoted to philosophy recently threw down the following vivid challenge:

Look at our world, with its men like Ulysses trying to sell the Golden Fleece in department stores, its men like Hercules striving to harness the rivers of the earth, conquer the heavens in flight and turn the oceans into lakes for tourists to explore in comfort. When have so many men labored with such glorious frenzy and with such trivial results?²⁷

—a passage which would seem to justify the title of the article—"The Age of Confusion"—and its contention that we have fallen prey to "emasculatation of the spirit" and "a baseless optimism." Franklin P. Adams, on the radio program "Information Please," once quoted from a trade journal: "We must not sit around moping, like Hercules in his tent before the walls of Troy." F. P. A. commented: "It was not Hercules but Hector; he was not sitting but standing; it was not a tent but an apartment." In response there came a flood of letters stating that one of Mr. Adams' assertions was erroneous—he should have said Achilles, not Hector.)

We may conclude our brief comparison of Trimalchio and Nero by scrutinizing their immoderate fondness for the same colors and the same arts and pointing out that even their personal eccentricities often coincide with startling exactitude.

Nero was so partial to scarlet and purple that he even fished with nets fashioned in those hues.²⁸ Similarly, Trimalchio appears always and everywhere attired in scarlet. It is the color of his dressing-gown, his dinner-

¹³ Petronius 60.1-3. For possible allusions to the *Domus Aurea* elsewhere in the *Satyricon* (77.4; 120, verse 87), see Giuseppe Revay, "Contributo alla questione della parodia di Nerone in Petronio," *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* 7 (1923) 30. On the element of comic exaggeration in Petronian satire, see Gilbert Highet, "Petronius the Moralist," *TAPA* 72 (1941) 181-182; J. K. Schönberger, "Zum Stil des Petronius," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Klassische Altertumswissenschaft* 1 (1946) 157-163. In Latin literature, Plautus began the business of farcical hyperbole; Horace elevated it from verbal wit to the humor of situation. In Petronius it has already commenced its progress toward Munchausen. For Plautus, see Mary K. Glick, *Studies in Colloquial Exaggeration in Roman Comedy* (Diss., Chicago, 1938); for Horace, Highet *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ Suetonius *Nero* 34.

¹⁵ Tacitus *Ann.* 14.8.

¹⁶ Tacitus *Ann.* 13.25; Suetonius *Nero* 26; Dio Cassius 61.8.1.
¹⁷ Petronius 82.2: *Notavit me miles, sive ille planus fuit sive nocturnus grassator. . . .*

¹⁸ Suetonius *Nero* 47. . . . *duos scyphos gratissimi usus quas Homeros a caelatura carminum Homeri vocabat. . . .* The word *Homeros* is found only here.

¹⁹ Petronius 29.9.

²⁰ Petronius 59.1-2. These Homeric artists are now known to us from Oxyrhynchus papyri of the second or third century A.D. (Wilcken, *Chrest.*, Nos. 492-493). See also the descriptions in Achilles Tatius 3.20; Paul Collart, "Réjouissances, divertissements et artistes de province dans l'Égypte romaine," *RecPhil* 18 (1944) 143-144; Wilhelm Heraeus, "Drei Fragmente eines Grammatikers Ovidius Naso?" *RM* 79 (1930) 398-403.

²¹ Petronius 59.4-5.

²² Petronius 50.4-5.

²³ Gellius 15.6.

²⁴ *Tusc.* 5.39.115. Cf. *Odyssey* 9.447.

²⁵ *Tusc.* 5.16.46 (Anticlea instead of Euryclea). Cf. *Odyssey* 19.467-475.

²⁶ *Sen.* 23.83. The same mistake occurs in Plautus *Pseud.* 871. Plautus (*Men.* 854) calls Tithonus the son of Cygnus instead of son of Laomedon, perhaps an intentional error.

²⁷ *Manas*, April 12, 1950, p. 8 (the leading article, unsigned).

²⁸ Suetonius *Nero* 30.

gown and even of the stuffing in his pillows.²⁹ He orders a slave flogged for binding his wound with white instead of purple wool.³⁰ On our first glimpse of the host at *le repas ridicule*, he is wearing house-slippers while playing ball, an irregularity to which Encolpius draws particular attention.³¹ Presently the *symphonia* strikes up, and our *petit maître* makes a spectacular entrance, borne into the hall scarlet-clad, his bald head propped on a multitude of pillows, his neck crazily wrapped in a heavy fringed cloth with a broad purple stripe.³² Who is this but Nero? Suetonius relates that he was utterly shameless in dress: he often appeared in public unshod, wearing a dinner-gown of bright-colored silk.³³ Petronius stresses the matter of Trimalchio's pillows, and in our last view of him he is *fulvus cervicalibus multis*; Nero's pillow had figured prominently in a canard current at court.³⁴ The emperor complained of throat trouble, and to safeguard his voice, he constantly wore a large kerchief bound about his neck!³⁵

Nero owned a large and very famous *aurea armilla*, a gift from his mother, which he wore on his right arm.³⁶ Trimalchio's first act upon entering the banquet-hall is to bare his right arm, where there glistened an *armilla aurea*. Its weight, we are vaingloriously informed, is not an ounce under ten pounds.³⁷

Equally convincing, to my mind, are the narrowly topical references to the arts. It is hard to imagine that the courtly Arbiter could have described Trimalchio's ragtag incursions into mythology, music, and poetry as he did without thinking of Nero. The "singing emperor" interrupted official business to exhibit an organ which was operated by a bellows under water-pressure. He struck coins illustrating this curious instrument, and professed a desire to give a performance on it at the games. So we are not surprised when the water-organ crops up in a bizarre scene of the *Satyricon*. "Carve away," quoth our *nouveau riche*, and forthwith the carver was at his post. "Keeping time with the music, he cut up the dainty, for all the world like a charioteer racing to a water-organ accompaniment."³⁸

Nero, as is well known, was possessed by a mania for the *cithara*: the contemporary *Carmen Einsiedlense* cele-

brates him as *citharoedus*,³⁹ and he is so portrayed on coins.⁴⁰ His passion for vocalizing⁴¹ and versifying⁴² was the butt of historian and biographer alike. At Naples the tuneful tyrant sang several days in succession, pausing between performances hardly long enough to bathe; while his "divine voice" was in action no one was allowed to leave the theater.⁴³ In the *Cena*, Trimalchio boasts of his love of music (an accomplishment which is quite out of character). He arrives, courses are served and cleared away, all *ad symphoniam* (possibly a bagpipe, alluding to Nero's *utriculus*).⁴⁴ His establishment re-echoes with the compulsory minstrelsy of household slaves. From time to time the master bawls out "change the tune!"⁴⁵ "In a perfectly horrible voice he sputtered out [*extorsit*] a ditty," and *opposita ad os manu nescio quid taetrum exsibilavit, quod postea Graecum esse affirmabat*. Even in the bath he *coepit Menecratis cantica lacerare* (Menecrates was ardently admired by Nero). His guests are able to escape only by a ruse. Incidentally, Philostratus employs language strikingly similar when in his description of Nero's cultural gasconading, he speaks of "airs which Nero was in the habit of murdering by his miserable phrasing and modulation."⁴⁶ Here *elygize* = *laceravit*, *kakôs estrephen* = *extorsit*.

Nero was immoderately enamored of themes from the tragic stage, as is Trimalchio.⁴⁷ Suetonius records that at the Neronia the emperor "sang a Niobe" *et in horam fere decimam perseveravit, coronamque eam et reliquam certaminis partem in annum sequentem distulit, ut saepius canendi occasio esset*.⁴⁸ In a piece of flamboyant flummery in which he surpasses even himself, Trimalchio announces that he owns "a thousand cups which Mummus

³⁹ Riese, *Anthol. Lat.* 2, No. 725. Baehrens, *PLM* 3.60. Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 14.15-16; Suetonius *Nero* 20.21, 24, 30, 40-41.

⁴⁰ Henry Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*. . . 2 (Paris 1886-1892) I, Nos. 196-203, 241-249.

⁴¹ Tacitus *Ann.* 14.14-15.

⁴² Tacitus *Ann.* 14.16; Suetonius *Nero* 53. Suetonius adds painting and sculpture, which is not improbable.

⁴³ Suetonius *Nero* 20, 23.

⁴⁴ Petronius 32.1, 36.6, 47.8, 53.12-13; Suetonius *Nero* 54. Similarly Jourdain in Molière's *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* changes costumes to musical accompaniment (A. 2, Sc. 5), his cooks sing at their tasks and uproarious music punctuates the feast (A. 4, Sc. 1). The first edition of the *Cena*, by Frambotti, was published in 1664, Molière's play in 1670.

⁴⁵ Petronius 31.5, 33.4, 68.3-5, 78.5-6; Suetonius *Nero* 30 (Menecrates).

⁴⁶ Petronius 35.6, 64.5, 73.3, 78.8; Philostratus *VA* 4.39. So, too, *Eumolpus in balneo recitabat* (91.3). Cf. Horace *Sat.* 1.4.74-75 *In medio qui / scripta foro recitent sunt multi, quique lavantes*.

⁴⁷ Suetonius *Nero* 21, 46-48; Petronius 48, 52, 59.

⁴⁸ Suetonius *Nero* 21. In the light of the astonishing similarity of Theophrastus' *Unpleasant Man* (*Adês*) to Trimalchio, it is not without interest that Philostratus, a sensitive student of human nature as of the Greek language, uses the word *aides* to characterize Nero's vocal histrionics (Philostratus *Nero* p. 337, line 9, ed. Kayser). On Petronius and Theophrastus, see the second instalment of the present article, note 12.

²⁹ Petronius 28.4, 32.2, 38.5.

³⁰ Petronius 54.7.

³¹ Petronius 27.2 *scolatus*.

³² Petronius 32.1-2.

³³ Suetonius *Nero* 51.

³⁴ Petronius 32.1-2, 59.3, 78.5; Suetonius *Nero* 6 *Additum fabulae est eodem dracone e pulvino se proferente conterritos refugisse*.

³⁵ Suetonius *Nero* 41, 51; Philostratus *VA* 4.44.

³⁶ Suetonius *Nero* 6.

³⁷ Petronius 32.4, 67.7.

³⁸ Petronius 36.7. Cf. Suetonius *Nero* 41, 54. The correlation of Petronius 36.7 with Nero's coinage I owe to J. M. Mitchell, Petronius, *The Satyricon* 2 (London 1923) 269.

left as a legacy to my late master: they show Daedalus shutting up Niobe in the Trojan horse."⁴⁹ (Incidentally, the name of the Cretan architect reminds us again of the Icarus affair at Nero's games.) To the Arbiter of Elegance, if indeed he was the kind of person portrayed by Tacitus, a ruler who went about as a *nocturnus grassator*, stabbing and robbing, or whose prime concern was the composition of tragic lays, must have seemed a peculiarly ludicrous spectacle. How then must he have felt to witness the two combined? When Giton's two admirers are about to fight a duel, the boy comes between them grandiloquently as peacemaker *ne Thebanum par humilis taberna spectaret*.⁵⁰ Here, one may suppose, appears the Roman novelist's true feeling about the incongruity of exalted themes to the habitué of low life.

In the *Satyricon* (89) a half-crazed poet declaims a bombastic *chef d'œuvre* entitled *Troiae halosis*. Granted Petronius' *animus* virtuosity and *animus* against the mythological paraphernalia of current literary dilettantism, it is still difficult not to recognize a parody *à dessein* on Nero's rhapsody of Troy, sung reportedly in the gardens of Maecenas during the conflagration of 64 A.D. Its title, according to Suetonius, was *Halosis Ilii*.⁵¹

At the opening of the *Cena Trimalchionis*, the steward, who sits counting gold pieces in the atrium, orders a slave flogged for losing his dinner suit. He looks up haughtily, and passes an extraordinary remark: "It's not the loss I mind so much as the villain's carelessness. . . . It was of Tyrian hue, I admit; but it had already been washed once" (*Tyria sine dubio, sed iam semel lota*).⁵² The significance of this passage has long exercised commentators. If the steward is simply boasting of his costly garments, why disparage them as *iam semel lota*? To translate *semel lota* "dipped (or dyed) only once" does not avoid this objection, and fails to explain *iam*. Confirmatory *sed* ("and already washed

once, too") makes no sense. Purple apparel is a striking anomaly in a slave even of Trimalchio. But no tortuous exegesis is needed if there is a side-glance at Nero, who *interdicted the use of Tyrian dye*,⁵³ yet who personally *never wore the same garment twice*.⁵⁴

Nero was generally opposed to philosophers and forced many into exile.⁵⁵ We cannot exclude the possibility that some thought of this is present in the epitaph which Trimalchio composed for his tombstone: *Pius, fortis, fidelis, ex parvo crevit, sestertium reliquit trecenties. Nec unquam philosophum audivit*.⁵⁶

We are informed by Philostratus, a writer who is usually well posted on the career of Nero, that at the instance of Petronius' rival Tigellinus the emperor banished one Demetrius from Rome for having "delivered himself of a denunciation against people who bathed, declaring that they enfeebled (*eklelumenôn*) and polluted (*chraiontôn*) themselves; and he showed that such institutions were a useless expense."⁵⁷ Conceivably that arbitrary act is the origin of the strange screed in the *Satyricon* against bathing (one of the very few in Latin literature anterior to the Church Fathers): *Non cotidie labor; balneus enim fullo est, aqua dentes habet, et cor nostrum cotidie liquescit*.⁵⁸

That the name C. Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus⁵⁹ itself is not without significance has already been observed. The inflated freedman had evidently been the slave of a Pompeius. On the analogy of other slave-names in -anus, Mommsen,⁶⁰ followed by Friedlaender,⁶¹ explained the second cognomen as meaning that Trimalchio had served also (perhaps the great) Maecenas, by whom he was liberated. Against this, Klebs⁶² pointed out that in Trimalchio's comparatively full autobiography (Chapters 75-77) we find no mention of Maecenas, and there are other reasons for questioning Mommsen's view. Apparently the wily Asiatic was set free by Pompeius and became rich while living in the latter's *ménage*. The cognomen Maecenatianus seems to be used *solely for its obvious associations with the imperial house*.⁶³ The name

⁴⁹ Petronius 52.2.

⁵⁰ Petronius 80.3. Two of Nero's improvisations were *Orestes Matricida* and *Oedipus Excaecatus* (Suetonius Nero 21; Philostratus VA 4.39, 5.7). Juvenal (8.220) pillories Nero with the taunt *In scena nunquam cantavit Orestes*.

⁵¹ Suetonius Nero 38. Cf. Tacitus Ann. 15.39; Dio Cassius 62.18; Juvenal 8.221; Cocchia op. cit. (supra, n. 5) 398-401. For a comprehensive discussion of the problems raised by this and the companion piece, *Carmen de Bello Civili* (Petronius 119-124), see Paratore op. cit. (supra, n. 5) II 294-304, 380-390; Florence T. Baldwin, *The Bellum Civile of Petronius*, . . . (New York 1911). On the relation of Petronius 89 to Nero's *epos* the *Troica*, of which Dio 62.29 has preserved several verses, see Franz Buecheler, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig and Berlin 1915-1930) II 3-4 (= *RhM* 26 [1871] 237-239). It is part of the irrepressible waggery of the Latin novelist that his hero, an unesthetic youth, must be lampooning the tragic style, as in this burlesque bit of ranting (81.2-3): "In the midst of my deep-drawn groans, I cried aloud again and again, 'Could not the earth swallow me up? Or the sea that loves to slay the innocent? . . .'"

⁵² Petronius 30.11.

⁵³ Suetonius Nero 32.

⁵⁴ Suetonius Nero 30.

⁵⁵ Suetonius Nero 52; Philostratus VA 4.35-38, 47; Tacitus Ann. 15.71.

⁵⁶ Petronius 71.12.

⁵⁷ Philostratus VA 4.42 (cf. 7.12).

⁵⁸ Petronius 42.2.

⁵⁹ Petronius 30.2, 71.12.

⁶⁰ Theodor Mommsen, "Trimalchios Heimath und Grabschrift," *Hermes* 13 (1878) 117-118.

⁶¹ Ludwig Friedlaender (ed.), *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis* (Leipzig 1906), on 30.2 and 71.12.

⁶² E. Klebs, "Petroniana," *Philologus*, Supplementband 6 (1893) 661-663.

⁶³ The remainder of this paragraph is based on Grimal's study already cited (supra, n. 5), where further suggestions are made concerning other names, e.g. Scaurus, Pansa.

Pompeius would recall not only its symbolic significance for the senatorial opposition under Nero, but also the last direct survivor, Sextus Pompey,⁶⁴ victim under Caligula because of his extensive properties, comparable to Trimalchio's.⁶⁵ Our Brummagem celebrity is known simply as Gaius (the name of the emperor Caligula), not only to his intimates,⁶⁶ but to his slaves,⁶⁷ in the account-books,⁶⁸ and on the placard affixed to his front door.⁶⁹ The combination of names would thus suggest thoughts of crimes and follies of the reigning dynasty, and the name Trimalchio, if of Eastern origin, an Oriental tyrant.

In the light of our available knowledge, what then is a balanced judgment on the relation of Trimalchio to Nero? We may formulate our critical perspective somewhat as follows: Though far from a round portrait of any single person, the character of Trimalchio nevertheless presents in several of its traits and (because of allusions which we cannot now recognize) to an extent not wholly measurable a conscious, deliberate pasquinade upon the reigning prince, Nero. Petronius reminds one, indeed, as does Bernard Shaw, of a brilliant and roguish king's jester who permits himself to tempt the anger of his master to the limit of personal safety, but never beyond it. No one but a man who combined ebullient high spirits with superlative deftness of characterization and lightness of touch could have attempted such a feat. No one but a man on the pinnacle of princely favor would have dared. "And indeed," Tacitus observes of Petronius, with striking appositeness (*Annales* 16.18.2), "his talk and his doings, the freer they were and the more show of carelessness they exhibited, the better they were liked for their look of natural simplicity." There are exceptional cases, says Jerome Cardan, that sixteenth-century defender of Nero, when tact (*blandiri*) may be dispensed with: "Let him speak frankly who has no worries at all for himself, no fear for his loved ones, no expectation of punishment. . . ." ⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* III 450. A descendant of Pompeius Magnus, L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, consul A.D. 32, waged civil war against Claudius (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani* II 1140).

⁶⁵ Petronius 37.10, 48.2.4, 77.3.

⁶⁶ Petronius 67.1, 75.2.

⁶⁷ Petronius 50.1 *Gaius feliciter*; 74.7 *illi quidem exclamare, Vale Gai, hi autem, Ave Gai*.

⁶⁸ Petronius 53.3 *Mithridates servus in crucem actus est, quia Gai nostri genio maledixerat*.

⁶⁹ Petronius 30.3 *III. et pridie Kalendas Ianuarias C. noster foras egnat*.

⁷⁰ Girolamo Cardano, *De Utilitate ex Adversis Capienda* 3.14, in his *Opera Omnia* (Lyons 1663) II 192. Cardan's *Encomium Neronis* is published in *Opera Omnia* I 179-220. According to this author *Nero tyrannus non fuit, verum ultor plebis ac tyrannicida* . . . (*Politics*, chap. 8, in *Opera Omnia* X 57). For a contrary view see Petrarch, *De Rebus Familiaribus* 24.5.13-24. Petrarch is appalled that Seneca (*Clem.* 1.11.13) can compare Nero with "that best of rulers, the deified Augustus"; he advises Seneca to reread his own remarks on mercy.

II

If the allusions referred to are not mere stray coincidences, but rather characterize a craft of studied suggestion of matters freighted with contemporary meaning,⁷⁰ we may indeed expect to discover in the composite portrait which is the *Satyricon* references to the several other Julio-Claudian emperors—historical allusions of prime importance for interpretation of the work. Several such indirect references have indeed been recognized. It must be a hardy scepticism which would deny that these, if admissible, inure to the credit of the construction here under consideration. We shall confine ourselves to three such strokes from the Petronian pastiche and present them with a minimum of discussion.

In Chapter 51 there occurs the curious tale of the inventor of unbreakable glass. After a demonstration, the emperor (unnamed) inquires blandly, "I suppose no one else knows how to make glass of this kind?" The inventor replies in the negative. "Caesar" then orders him beheaded *quia enim si scitum esset, aurum pro luto haberemus*. (The comparison with gold is not quite reasonable but that may be an element of the satire. In the story, the "glass" is light, malleable and easily dented—characteristics which suggest aluminum.) Folklorists might adduce various parallels. There was Talos or Perdix, nephew of Daedalus, inventor of saw, chisel, and drawing-compass. Daedalus became jealous and hurled him headlong from the Acropolis, but Athena caught Perdix and changed him into a partridge.⁷¹ Then there was the contriver of the marvelous season-clock in the tower of Strassburg cathedral. To prevent his ever fabricating another, the magistrates cast him into a dungeon and are about to put out his eyes. First,

⁷⁰ For a judicious appraisal of the *milieu* of Nero's court and of the emperor's ruffianly escapades in their influence on the general atmosphere of the *Satyricon*, see Highest *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 13) 189-192. In the case of events which occurred more than once, it is reducing the equation to over-simple factors to suppose that Petronius necessarily had in mind the Neronian instance. An example is the account of the *aquaticum* celebrated by the matrons on the Capitoline: *Antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in cileum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et lotem aquam exorabant. Itaque statim urceatim placebat* . . . (Petronius 44.18). After the great fire, says Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.44), "Juno was supplicated by the matrons, on the Capitol first, and afterward at the nearest point upon the sea, from which water was drawn to sprinkle the temple and image of the goddess. . . . But neither human aid nor the prince's bounty nor propitiation of the gods could absolve Nero of the sinister suspicion of having been responsible for the fire." It is analogy of mood, the indefinable *Weltschmerz* of the early Empire, that prompts Petronius to append an observation almost coinciding with this last of Tacitus: Nowadays, reflects Petronius, the matrons' rite is of no avail, *quia religiosi non sumus*.

⁷¹ J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London 1913) II 232-233. On Petronius 51 see F. Lazenby, "A Note on *Utrum Flexile*," *CW* 44 (1950/51) 102-103.

however, they permit him to make a final adjustment of the mechanism. Needless to say, the repairs he makes are final indeed.⁷² Countess de Noailles tells of a sultan who, learning that a subject had invented unbreakable glass, condemned the foolhardy man for wishing to render permanent the ephemeral and solid the fragile. The countess notes the symbolic character of the story, illustrating that beauty perishes.⁷³

It is a necessary inference from the three fabulous narratives just cited, and from others which might be adduced, that our inventor story retains palpable affiliations with the folk-tale. Yet who is to say whether the incident in Petronius be fiction? History records that in the time of Louis XV an inventor named Dupré recovered what he believed to be the secret of Greek fire. The monarch, though engaged in a formidable war and though he could by this means have burned and destroyed the enemy fleet, purchased the silence of Dupré with the award of the Order of the Holy Spirit and a generous pension. He then cautioned the discoverer under threat of extreme penalties never to divulge the secret, adding that were he to use it he should consider himself an atrocious criminal⁷⁴—an obviously reactionary sentiment, concerning which a Frenchman, living in Paris, in 1940, was benighted enough to exclaim: "L'histoire, n'est-elle pas ici plus belle que la légende? Et ne pouvons-nous être fiers qu'une action aussi magnanime ait été accomplie par un Français?"⁷⁵

We have, however, an even closer control upon the glass incident than ascertainable historical parallels. Petronius, as we have seen, does not specify the name of the obscurantist emperor who rejected the new glass.

⁷² Wilhelm Ruland, *Legends of the Rhine* (Cologne 1906) 22-24.

⁷³ I know this version only through a contribution to *L'Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux* 103 (1940), No. 1929, cols. 26-27, by Auguste Fontan, who, being unable to find the account in any Arab writer, suspects the noblewoman of having invented the poetic fiction herself. Partially parallel (the possessors of dangerous knowledge are destroyed by the king) are the semi-historical (?) accounts of how Ivan the Terrible, who built St. Basil's (St. Vassili) in Moscow in memory of the capture of Kazan in 1554, blinded the architect upon its completion, so that he might never design another structure like it; or how Henri Christophe, black emperor of Haiti, hurled his French-trained architect Ferrière from the parapet of the great citadel he had raised, in order that none but he might be privy to its secrets. The opposite number from Petronius' version is the account of how Cotys, king of the Scythians, upon receiving some delicate earthenware vessels, shatters them, "so that I may not in anger punish too severely those who break them" (Plutarch, *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* 174d-e). Here the apotropaic ritual act averts psychological instead of economic consequences of innovation.

⁷⁴ Paul Jarry, *L'Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux* 102 (1939), No. 1927, cols. 913-914; François Louis, *Mercure de France*, March 16, 1916, cited by Fontan loc. cit. (*supra*, n. 73).

⁷⁵ Fontan loc. cit. (*supra*, n. 73).

But Pliny⁷⁶ and Dio⁷⁷ both name the fatuous ruler as Tiberius. The jealous cruelty of that prince tends to corroborate not only the identification⁷⁸ but the historicity of the affair.

Our second advertence to contemporary history is a waggery at the expense of Tigellinus. This favorite of Caligula and Nero emerges clearly recognizable in certain aspects of Trimalchio's self-delineation (Chapters 75-77). Tigellinus' and Trimalchio's cicerbeism with their masters' wives,⁷⁹ inheritance of large legacies,⁸⁰ ownership of great estates in Apulia and Calabria,⁸¹ and large-scale breeding of animals for sale⁸²—this correspondence between the ludicrous freedman and the upstart courtier who was Petronius' enemy seems too comprehensive to be fortuitous.

We turn finally to that emperor who "just wasn't put together right"—Claudius, the natural butt of any satirist. "He is even said to have planned an edict granting pardon to any one who broke wind noisily at table, having learned of a man who had run into trouble by restraining himself through modesty."⁸³ Only pedantry, I think, would insist on seeing a parallel, rather than a direct inspiration from Claudius' decree, in Trimalchio's infelicitous descendant:

"Itaque si quis vestrum voluerit sua re [causa] facere, non est quod illum pudeatur. Nemo nostrum solide natus est. Ego nullum puto tam magnum tormentum esse quam continere. Hoc solum vetare ne Iovis potest. Rides, Fortunata, quae soles me nocte desomnem facere? Nec tamen in triclinio ullum vetuo facere quod se iuvet, et medici vetant continere. Vel si quid plus venit, omnia foras parata sunt: aqua, lasani et cetera minutalia. Credite mihi, anathymiasis in cerebrum it et in toto corpore fluctum facit. Multos scio periisse, dum nolunt sibi verum dicere." Gratias agimus liberalitati indulgentiaeque eius, et subinde castigamus crebris potunculis risum.⁸⁴

(To be concluded)

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⁷⁶ *NH* 36.195.

⁷⁷ *Hist. Rom.* 57.21.

⁷⁸ See Klebs *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 62) 666.

⁷⁹ Scholia on Juvenal 1.155 (the source of all the biographical details on Tigellinus presented above); Petronius 75.11. Tigellinus in Trimalchio's autobiography is recognized by Hight *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 13) 190, n. 42.

⁸⁰ Petronius 76.2.

⁸¹ Petronius 77.3 *Quod si contigerit fundos Apuliae iungere, satis vitus pervenero.* Cf. 37.10, 48.2-4.

⁸² Petronius 38.2, 76.8.

⁸³ Suetonius *Claudius* 32.

⁸⁴ Petronius, 47.4-7. It is not possible to touch upon this passage even tangentially without brief mention of Guido Calza, "Die Taverne der Sieben Weisen in Ostia," *Die Antike* 15 (1939) 99-115. In important remains of the time of Hadrian, there are portrayed on the tavern murals the seven sages. Each figure is

DE PHASELLIS

In the *New York Times* of September 16, 1951, a news item strongly reminiscent of Catullus 4 was captioned "Well-Loved Yacht Gets a Sea Burial." Whether the Roman poet was merely writing an inscription for a votive offering is scarcely relevant in this comparison, since in spirit he unquestionably addresses himself to the vessel on which he had sailed homeward from the East.

While Catullus' yacht is put out to pasture in calm waters, the modern yacht "Nebula" (built in 1885) was escorted by "a cortege of sixty-nine boats on her final journey" to be loaded with ballast for a permanent and "secure rest at a depth of seventy-two feet" in Long Island Sound. Both yachts were noted during their active life for their trim beauty and the excellence of the material which contributed to their stamina, for while Catullus apostrophizes *Amastri Pontica et Cytoe buxifer* (4.13), the *Times* mentions the Nebula's appointments (thriftily salvaged) of "hand-carved applewood, teak and mahogany." There is but one point of difference that will deny the gallant Nebula that immortality easily won by Catullus' *phasellus*. Unless John C. Davis, Abbott K. Hamilton, and Edwin Larsen, former owners and pre-

sumably chief mourners at the obsequies of the modern boat, are lyric poets, and there is no indication that they are, the obituary of the Nebula has been written in *vento et rapida . . . aqua*, to quote Catullus (70.4). Or is that too harsh a way to characterize the friendly oblivion of a great newspaper's files?

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ELEPHANTS AND ROCKS

In his recently published book, *Elephant Bill*, Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Williams has an episode which will prove interesting to those who recall a detail from Livy's passage on Hannibal's crossing of the Alps (21.37.2-3): . . . cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succedunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent.

In describing the method by which a teak log is brought down from the Burma hills by an elephant, Colonel Williams says:

. . . Once down there [at the foot of a precipice] she has to drag the log again with chains along a ledge which has been roughly blasted out of the hillside around a precipitous waterfall.

Such blasting is often done by a more primitive method than using dynamite. The rock is heated with a fierce brushwood fire and then cracked by pouring water over it. After that the fractured rocks are broken again with crowbars and the big pieces disposed of by elephants.¹

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accompanied by a saying on proper functioning of the bowels, e.g. *Durum cocantes monuit ut nitant Thales*, and *Amice, fugit te proverbium Bene caca ut irrua medicos*. (Compare also Petronius 42.5 *medici illum perdidit* . . . *medicus enim nihil aliud est quam animi consolatio*; 47.2 *nec medici se inveniant*.) The whole demonstrates the frivolity of the Roman masses toward serious issues, and a distaste for philosophy, heightened no doubt by the contentiousness of the philosophers, of which Philodemus' writings are a conspicuous instance. Petronius' levity with ritual (as on the sacred geese in Chapters 136-137) raises the possibility that Trimalchio's symptoms in Chapter 47 are in part a gibe at religion. *Ventris crepitus* was unlucky at religious ceremonies, and apotropaic amulets were worn against it. Some show the formula *Favete lingua* and a figure with a finger to mouth; others, nude females, add a further gesture: a finger at the anus, i.e. at the two places whence might emanate the *ventris crepitus*. Jerome on Isaiah 13:46 writes *Taceam de . . . crepitu ventris inflati, quae Pelusiaca religio est*. . . . See Otto Jahn, *Berichte üb. d. Verh. d. Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Cl.*, 7 (1855) 47-49. (The special verve and unflagging buffoonery of Encolpius' encounter with the sacred geese are noteworthy. I suspect some recent scandal or *gaucherie* on the part of Nero in connection with Juno's sacred geese.) In general, it must be remembered that our ancestors were less squeamish about physiologic entailments than are we. Benjamin Franklin wrote a discourse *On Polite Wind-breaking*, and in *Othello*, Act 2, Sc. 3, we read:

Clown. Are these, I pray you, wind-instruments?

Musician. Ay, marry, are they, sir.

Clow. O, thereby hangs a tail.

Mus. Whereby hangs a tail, sir?

Clow. Marry, by many a wind-instrument that I know.

Further archeological parallels to such neap forms of humor in Petronius (especially in the quarrel scene of Chapter 58) are discussed by F. A. Todd, "Three Pompeian Wall-Inscriptions, and Petronius," *CR* 53 (1939) 5-9.

¹ Quoted by permission from James Howard Williams, *Elephant Bill* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1950) 54-55. For previous discussions of the Livy passage, cf. *CW* 25 (1931/32) 152, and the references cited there in note 1.

The Forty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States will be held at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, on Friday and Saturday, April 18 and 19, 1952. Carvel Hall will be the hotel headquarters. Further details will be announced in the next issue.

REVIEWS

Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ.* By DAVID MAGIE. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. xxi, 1663; map. \$20.00.

The evaluation of Roman imperialism is a problem of abiding interest for the student of ancient history. Should he trust the bitter indictment in Tacitus, *Agr.* 30: *Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, or should he accept the high praise of the Roman Empire expressed in Aelius Aristides' speech *To Rome*? For the solution of this and many other problems Professor Magie provides a penetrating analysis and illuminating discussion.

The publication of this work is an event of prime importance. These two finely printed volumes are the fruit of a quarter of a century of study involving all the ancient evidence—literary, numismatic, and epigraphic—and a vast modern literature to which the author himself has made important contributions. He presents a lucid account of an intensely interesting subject, the expansion of Rome's empire in Asia Minor and the adjacent lands to the east, and the nature of her rule over the provinces established in these regions. Of the twenty-nine chapters in Volume I, the first five serve as an introduction to the account of the first acquisition of territory in Asia Minor in 133 B.C. Other chapters also contain introductory material in connection with the acquisition of the several provinces. Much of the story is familiar, but Magie provides an excellent summary of political and economic conditions in the Hellenistic world. Throughout his book, but particularly in these opening chapters, he pays special attention to the influence of geographical factors upon economic life, political relationships, and military strategy.

Having set the stage for the advent of Roman rule, the author devotes thirteen chapters to a history of the region under the dominion of the Roman Republic. He does not hesitate to condemn Rome's unconscionable exploitation of the Anatolian provinces. The remaining chapters carry the account to the advent of Diocletian in 285 A.D. Although increasing centralization and bureaucratization under the Flavians and their successors were ominous portents of those evils which helped ultimately to strangle the Empire, the emperors were, on the whole, hard-working, conscientious, and interested in the welfare of the provinces. In short, Roman imperialism was neither all black nor all white. To regions chronically disturbed in the Hellenistic Age and both inefficiently

governed and ruthlessly exploited under the Republic, urbanization and stable government, both local and imperial, brought peace and prosperity in the imperial period. Rostovtzeff, Jones, Broughton, and others have made this clearer to us than it was when Professor Magie began his labors, but his analysis of the Roman accomplishment in Asia Minor is keen and enlightening, his interpretations fresh and stimulating.

He has left it for others to provide a detailed account of the cults of the deities and the literary and artistic productivity of the Asiatic provinces. He has, moreover, little to say about the spread of Christianity, although a discussion of Pliny's correspondence with Trajan about the Christians in Bithynia would surely be relevant. In the face of Magie's achievement, however, it would be ungenerous to ask for more.

The second volume, made up of 853 pages of notes which provide ample references to the ancient sources and to the modern literature as well as a critical discussion of controversial questions, is testimony to Professor Magie's extraordinary mastery of the subject. Geographical, chronological, linguistic, economic, and administrative problems are examined with great erudition and painstaking care. The continuous flow of narrative in the text is thereby left unimpeded by a clutter of names of scholars and their conflicting hypotheses. An adequate system of references makes it easy to find the relevant note to any passage of the text. Four appendices provide lists of Roman provincial governors and their subordinates, provincial dignitaries, cults of Roma and Augustus, and groups of resident Romans. A folding map of Asia Minor and an excellent index increase the utility of the work.

Reviewers should not lightly use the adjectives "magisterial" and "monumental," but only these words can appropriately describe this study. It is much more than a conscientious assembly of documented facts, more than a work of reference, although the scholar in search of evidence for this or that aspect of the subject will find it here. Sound scholarship is combined happily with the capacity to write readable history. This is a book which illuminates as well as instructs, a book which can be read for pleasure as well as for information. The years which Professor Magie devoted to his *magnum opus* have been well spent.

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Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques. By MARCEL LAUNEY. 2 vols. ("Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome," Fasc. 169.) Paris: De Boccard, 1949-1950. Pp. xi, 1318.

Professor Launey began collecting material for this study in 1932 at the suggestion of Pierre Roussel to

* [ED. NOTE: This work won its author the Award of Merit of the American Philological Association. The award was conferred on Professor Magie at the A. P. A. meeting of December 28, 1951.]

whose memory it is dedicated. The appearance of G. T. Griffith's book (*The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* [Cambridge 1935]) caused Launey to revise the plan of his work to avoid duplication. The result is an invaluable study of the army as a social group. All available materials, papyrological, artistic, literary, and epigraphical have been brought to bear, and the evidence for each soldier who served in any Hellenistic army of which he was not a national has been carefully documented in a prosopographical appendix (pp. 1109-1271). The term "national" does not include Greeks, Macedonians, Thracians, and others who acquired residence in Egypt or elsewhere and then served in the army of their adoption; nor does it include their descendants. By this logical selection Launey is able to use his data for a statistical approach to the phenomena of emigration in the Hellenistic period.

The first volume is a masterly survey of the material, document by document, illustrating the changing percentages of mercenaries from the major regions of the Greek and barbarian world. Each document presents its own problems of dating, restoration, and classification, and each is dealt with on its merits. Launey's decisions may sometimes be attacked, but his candor on all doubtful points is beyond praise. Seldom has such a mass of evidence been presented with so little confusion. Important documents are dealt with again and again from different points of view until the reader begins to feel at home with the evidence. Garrison lists or groups of grave inscriptions in a given locale are first used to indicate where soldiers came from in different periods of time; later the same lists help us to see where they went and what their specialties were. The major conclusions of the first volume may be summarized. Continental Greece rather than the Peloponnese plays an important part in Hellenistic armies from the death of Alexander until the second century, a very different situation from the one that existed at the time of the Ten Thousand. In the second century Greek emigration falls off to a mere trickle, but Macedonian and Balkan contingents continue to show vigor, declining sensibly only in the first century. The Semitic element, negligible in the third century, is predominant, at least in Egypt, in the first (see table on p. 93). Certain areas, notably Aetolia and Crete, show a surprising resistance to permanent emigration.

The second volume deals with the soldier as a member of society. The bragging soldier type of the New Comedy is brought into proper focus by the juxtaposition of funerary inscriptions where we learn how the soldier regarded himself and his profession. For the newer monarchies the evidence is of course very full on Egypt, and it is here that we learn of the gymnasium as a soldier's club from which all but Greeks and Macedonians were excluded. Soldier associations in general are discussed in an illuminating chapter (chap. 16).

The religious life is treated quite exhaustively (pp. 875-1000), and the conclusion drawn that the Greek soldier is not a significant factor in spreading Oriental ideas, because the Greek who came under the spell of an eastern cult did not return to Greece. In general the Greek showed greater resistance to foreign ways than the Macedonian. The soldier's political life is also discussed (chap. 17). Mercenaries connected with old city-states kept many of the forms of political life, electing officials and passing honorary decrees, but the substance was small. In colonial areas, especially away from cities, even the forms tended to disappear.

In his concluding remarks (pp. 1087-1094) Launey reveals his Hellenic sympathies clearly. He sees Alexander's conquest as a great tragedy because of the subsequent exhaustion of the Greek world in the hopeless attempt to colonize the new areas, and also in the continuation on a larger scale of the senseless and brutal series of wars. A part of his argument is based on the assumption that the Greek could not endure the climate of the east, and Launey sees an analogy with European colonialism. This may be correct, but it is controversial, and this type of conclusion does not follow from the evidence presented. Here one feels Launey is less balanced than Rostovtzeff. But the conclusions in no way interfere with the value of his work as a whole.

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Greek Altars: Origins and Typology, Including the Minoan-Mycenean Offertory Apparatus: An Archaeological Study in the History of Religion. By CONSTANTINE G. YAVIS. ("Saint Louis University Studies, Monograph Series: Humanities," No. 1.) St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis University Press, 1949. Pp. xxiii, 266; 22 plates. \$6.00 (paper, \$5.00).

The lengthy title gives much information about the contents of the work under review. The title-page also gives the position of the author: Assistant Professor of Archaeology and Classics, Saint Louis University. The book, however, was written as a doctoral dissertation under the guidance of Professor David M. Robinson, to whom it is rightly dedicated. It is from him that the author has learned to strive for completeness, which distinguishes this "survey of the archaeological information available about Greek altars" (p. v).

The mass of material, collected throughout from books, is divided into four chapters: 1, Prehellenic Period; 2-3, Geometric and Archaic Period; 4, The Classical and Post-Classical Period. The whole text is further subdivided into ninety paragraphs. In each of these paragraphs a short general discussion is followed by a catalogue of the single examples with all relevant infor-

mation, set in smaller print. There follow synoptic tables of the chief altar types (229-253); a list of terms defined or explained in the text (255); a topographical index (257-260) and a general index (261-266). There are fifty-seven line drawings, fifty-four of which are in the text, while the remaining three and all thirty-six illustrations from photographs are assembled at the end of the book. All this, as well as the frequent cross-references in the text, and the references to the text which are placed beneath the captions of the illustrations, make the use of the book easy for anybody interested in some special altar or some special aspect of the subject. There are ample references, and for aspects which have been omitted good bibliographies are provided in footnotes.

One of the aspects omitted which is of great importance will be dealt with by the author in a later book, for he has received a Guggenheim fellowship to study "ancient Greek religious sacrifices," which must mean the ritual function of the various types of altars.

Some corrections and suggestions: pages 25-26 (7): The Agia Triada sarcophagus is late Minoan III (not Middle Minoan II): see J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete* (London 1939) 248-249. The liquid poured into the *pitnos* is painted as red; thus it is the blood of the slaughtered animals, disproving the author's opinion that there were no flesh sacrifices in the prehelladic period. What are "prophylactic" posts? Page 27, Nos. 12-24, i: The "Ring of Minos" is a forgery. Page 148, "Masks of Dionysus," ought to be "of satyrs" or "dionysiac masks." Page 152, No. 136: The relief from Bovilla represents the nine Muses in the upper three levels and the apotheosis of Homer in the lower level only. See M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton 1939) 1, fig. 1. Page 156, Nos. 7-23, a: The five altars are, according to the inscription, dedicated to Hadrian, not to Trajan. Page 158, No. 52: Dionysiac scenes, not scenes of Dionysus. Pages 197-198, No. 4: To be added to the bibliography: H. Kachler, *Der grosse Fries von Pergamon* (Berlin 1948) and *Pergamon* (Berlin 1949). Pages 219-220, No. 17, 18: The New Temple of Samothrace is now dated by the excavations of Professor and Mrs. Lehmann in the middle of the second (not early third) century. Pages 223-224, § 87, No. 1: Could the Boston and Ludovisi reliefs come from a sacrificial pit? Cp. § 85 and figs. 92-93. Page 227, § 90: This "Chronological Note" ought to have gone into the Preface. This would, for example, have clarified the fact that Post-Classical means Hellenistic, but is sometimes "extended to include the following period."

The book is well printed, and it is a good augury for the new series started by the St. Louis University Press.

MARGARETE BIBER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine.

By J. ANDRÉ. ("Études et Commentaires," No. 7.) Paris: Klincksieck, 1949. Pp. 427.

Professor André's stimulating book, a thorough development of his "Le vocabulaire de la couleur," *REL* 19 (1941) 132-141, is a valuable contribution to the study of lexicology and synonymy.

His Introduction stresses the various problems of color and color perception, references being made to the results of recent psychological experiments. As Favorinus aptly puts it (Gell. *NA* 2.26.3), *Plura sunt in sensibus oculorum quam in verbis vocibusque colorum discrimina*. A study of Homeric poetry would indicate that the Greeks were more interested in luminosity than in color *per se* (cf. Platnauer, "Greek Colour-Perception," *CQ* 15 [1921] 162). André believes that, since the Greek epic style was "in formation," chromatic terminology was only an accessory, not the essential element it became in the later lyric poetry. Latin poetry, on the other hand, considered color "comme une part précieuse de son art" (p. 19), and consequently made much of it.

The intensive examination of the Latin chromatic vocabulary is made from three points of view, the semantic, the lexicological, and the stylistic, including such subject-matter as derivatives of Greek and Latin origin and the symbolism of colors. The author shows how the evolution of this vocabulary developed, in the latter half of the first century B.C., under the influence of technical processes, of artistic culture, of Alexandrinism, with its attention to the description both of lady's beauty and of flowers and landscapes; and, finally, under the influence of poetry, to which the vocabulary owed much, for poets were constantly seeking to avoid the banality of the *sermo cotidianus*.

The general conclusion offers excellent advice to translators. André's study shows very clearly that the fine art of translating color terms from one language to another presupposes a knowledge beyond that derived from mere dictionary definition. Genre and style must always be considered in the selection of the *mot juste* with reference to color. The author concludes that the Latin chromatic vocabulary was not inferior to that of the Greeks. Nor does it compare unfavorably with our own, if one takes cultural and technical evolution into account.

The scheme and purpose of the book are admirable. Its plan facilitates reference, although it necessarily involves some repetition, and perhaps some tedium if the work is read continuously. Professor André has marshalled his data with great skill; the bibliography covers the field; and the indices are more than adequate. The book is a model of French lucidity and scholarship, besides being an integrated, well-proportioned treatment of the problem. There are few classi-

cal scholars who will not find much in it that is new to them.

FRANCIS D. LAZENBY

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Cinque poeti dell' Antologia Palatina. By LUIGIA ACHILLEA STELLA. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1949. Pp. ix, 385. L. 2000.

Miss Stella has written pleasant studies of five poets of the *Anthology*. The poets differ in themes and in poetic talent. Asclepiades wrote of his love affairs and of the joys of the symposium. Leonidas wrote epitaphs and dedications to order, many of them as insipid as today's greeting-card verse; but others contain genuine poetic emotion, especially when he pictures the hard lot of humble folk. Meleager, like Asclepiades, wrote of his amours, but the symposium is not the center of his poetic vision. Philodemus, the Epicurean, wrote mime-like dialogues, presenting moments of the life that he knew. Palladas, at the very end of antiquity, was a critic of contemporary morals and a bitter opponent of triumphant Christianity.

Miss Stella makes clear that these poets, despite differences of theme and temperament, had something more profound in common. All express the temper of the Hellenistic world. In Leonidas as in Asclepiades we find a weariness of life, a spiritual loneliness, the mood of an age in which the city-state had broken down and had not been replaced by another unifying force. The author ably brings out the commonplaces of Hellenistic poetry: fleeting youth, inevitable death, etc., and each poet's characteristic way of treating them. Also she emphasizes the close relation between Hellenistic poetry and Hellenistic painting. Many an epigram in the *Anthology* is a translation of a mural into verse.

The author surprisingly dates Meleager in the early third century B.C. Her position is at best questionable; she must deny that Meleager's Antipater is the well-known Antipater of Sidon. Her best argument is that Meleager's migration to Cos is more meaningful in the third century, when Cos was a great literary center, than if dated around 100 B.C.

Her dating of Menippus to 380 (p. 232) appears to be either her own or the printer's slip; elsewhere (p. 328) Arcadius' reign is dated 295 A.D. But the printer cannot be blamed for *Cepheio Perseo* in her quotation of Ovid *Her.* 15.35, since she translates "piacque Andromeda al Cefeo Perseo."

The Bibliography omits James Hutton's books on the *Anthology* in Renaissance Italy and France.

However, Miss Stella must be commended for her genuine appreciation of these poets.

JOSEPH FONTENROSE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Greek Ethical Thought from Homer to the Stoics.

Edited, with an Introduction, by HILDA D. OAKELEY. ("The Library of Greek Thought.") Boston: Beacon Press, 1950. Pp. xlii, 226. \$3.00.

This volume, first published in 1925, has been reprinted along with several others in the series "The Library of Greek Thought," under the general editorship of Sir Ernest Barker. The same plates have been used, and the only new element in the book is a brief preface by the general editor, consisting of a biographical sketch of Miss Oakeley. Reviews of the original publication may be found in *CJ* 21 (1925/26) 390-391, *JHS* 46 (1926) 288, *CR* 40 (1926) 122-123, and *CW* 20 (1926/27) 112.

The introductory essay by Miss Oakeley is reasonably competent. She quite properly emphasizes the ethical thought of Plato and Aristotle, and very shrewdly points to the limitations of the latter's position which result from its "practical" and this-worldly character. However, her stress upon his central doctrines of the mean and of friendship gives her estimate of the Aristotelian ethic appropriate balance, but throughout the essay her predilection for the Platonic approach is apparent. Much more could have been done with the ethical implications of Homer, the early poets, and the great writers of tragedy. On the other hand, Miss Oakeley's comments on the Epicureans and Stoics, though brief in compass, are well-pointed and penetrating.

To compound an anthology of the best of the ethical insights of the Greeks from Homer to Marcus Aurelius within the limits of two hundred printed pages is obviously an impossible task. About ninety pages are devoted to Plato, with the most extended passages being excerpted from the *Crito*, *Gorgias*, *Symposium*, and *Republic*. There are fifty pages of selections from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The remaining space is therefore so limited that only brief snippets for the most part can be included from all the other authors. Miss Oakeley uses a variety of standard translations for much of the material, but has done her own effective versions for parts of the Plato and for the material from the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

The book, now that it is again available, will serve its purpose best as a volume of important reading for the layman who wishes to acquaint himself with the Greek achievement in the field of ethics.

WHITNEY J. OATES

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Greek City-States. By KATHLEEN FREEMAN. New York: Norton, 1950. Pp. 274. \$3.75.

In this attractively written, popularizing volume, Dr. Freeman has lightly and confidently dipped her oar into

the turbulent problem of the rise and fall of the Greek city-state and of Hellenic culture. The author's basic purpose is to illustrate the heterogeneity of Greek civic communities. Thus, despite the *disiecta membra* of which the book is composed, it possesses a kind of unity in the very diversity of the history and institutions of nine city-states whose life cycle she presents in independent sketches: Thourioi (reprinted from *Greece and Rome* 10 [1941] 49-64), Acragas, Corinth, Miletus, Cyrene, Seriphos, Abdera, Massalia, and Byzantium. To serve as a binder, the author has also reprinted an earlier article from *World Affairs* (July, 1948) on the evolution and decline of Hellenic civilization.

The varied personalities and political particularism of the several hundred sovereign Greek communities scattered over the Mediterranean littoral are adequately documented by Dr. Freeman's brief portraits of these nine diverse and representative city-states. They provide, moreover, a salutary corrective to our tendency to generalize from Athens and Sparta.

In addition to objective reporting, Dr. Freeman has an editorial to write. The conventional answer to the problem of the failure of the Greek city-state—the atomic separatism of Greek society—she rejects, quite properly, as unhistorical. But at the same time she isolates individualism, out of the stupendous achievements of the Greek people, as an historical absolute. The post-Hellenic unity of the Hellenistic states, the Roman Empire, and the modern national state has, in the author's view, yielded far less creativeness than the individualism of the Greek city-state. And world government "might lead to intellectual and cultural stagnation." As for the causes of the Greek decline, by-passing the innate insoluble economic and social contradictions, she can only deplore the inter-state wars and the use of force to settle internal differences, "the inbred sin of the City-State," in Warde Fowler's phrase. The supreme lesson of Greek civilization, to Dr. Freeman, is the need for education to encourage individuality, nationalism, and regionalism to the highest degree, and at the same time to uproot immediate self-interest.

One should not expect from Dr. Freeman's book definitive answers: it is stimulating and suggestive, however personal her conclusions may be.

MEYER REINHOLD

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

the cosmopolitan complexion of the city itself. The author of this excellent and definitive study can control not only Greek and Latin sources, but Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew ones as well. It is only the Slavic translation of Malalas' *Chronicle* which he (with most of us) must consult via Spinka and Downey's English rendering.

The questions dealt with in this study (a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Chicago) bear upon the population, character, race, nationality, and language of ancient Antioch, third largest city of the Roman Empire. The author estimates that towards the end of the fourth century its population was half a million, half of whom were slaves.

The character of the Antiochians has been maligned. Haddad maintains, by ancient authors (such as Philostratus, Julian, Chrysostom) as well as modern (such as Gibbon, Renan, Mommsen), who have charged that the populace was fickle, rebellious, and generally unreliable. Besides showing that other ancient cities had an equally high percentage of undesirable elements, Haddad lays much of the blame for turbulence in Antioch on the political intrigues of the rulers, for whose crimes the common citizens cannot be held accountable.

The author finds evidence for the general prevalence of Greek as a written and spoken language; for the more limited use of Latin; and (surprisingly enough) only traces of the oral (not written) use of Syriac. Nevertheless he concludes that the use of Syriac or "of a mixed tongue might have been very wide" (p. 114). Haddad could have found a certain amount of support for this judgment in evidence from other localities at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, especially in St. Aetheria *Peregrinatio* 47.73-74; Jerome *Epist.* 108.30; and especially Mark the Deacon *Vita Porphyrii Gaz.* 66 and 68.

The bibliography is relatively full, but one misses Doro Levi's two volumes of *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton 1947); Eric Peterson's "Christianus" in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 1 (1946) 355-372; and several articles by Downey in *TAPA* 66 (1935) 55-72; 69 (1938) 349-363; *Byzantion* 15 (1940-1941) 39-48; and *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1 (1940) 112-113.

BRUCE M. METZGER

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Aspects of Social Life in Antioch in the Hellenistic-Roman Period. By GEORGE HADDAD. (Dissertation, Chicago.) Chicago: Privately Printed, 1949. Pp. v, 196. \$2.50. (May be obtained from Hafner Publishing Co., 31 E. 10th St., New York 3, N. Y.)

The linguistic equipment prerequisite for the researcher in Antiochian antiquities is even more varied than was

Einführung in die dritte Dekade des Livius. By ERICH BURCK. ("Heidelberger Texte: Lateinische Reihe.") Heidelberg: Kerle, 1950. Pp. 174.

In this monograph the author continues the analysis and evaluation of Livy's literary achievement which he began in *Die Erzählungskunst des T. Livius* (Berlin 1934; = *Problemata*, Heft 11). There he presented a

searching and convincing study of the relationship between form and content in the first pentad; here, with similar success though in a more limited way, the third decade is reviewed. The author (co-editor of *Gnomon* and director of the *Institut für klassische Altertumskunde* at the University of Kiel) uses the first third of his limited space for a new interpretation of the principles underlying the composition of the unit which, in Livy's view, the Second Punic War comprised. Basing his reasoning on such factors as the manner in which the various books open and close, and certain noteworthy parallels between the first and second halves of the decade, he demonstrates that Livy placed the climax of the war at the end of the year 212, i.e. at the conclusion of Book 25; furthermore, Books 21 and 30 as "Eckbücher" possess a unity of their own, which is broken, however, by the overlapping unity of 21-22 "als Hauptbericht des römischen Zusammenbruchs" and of 29-30, "die erfolggekrönte Expedition Scipios in Africa." The second part of the work consists of a series of "Einzelinterpretationen," selected to accord with a text anthology published by the author in the same series. Good use is made of Polybius and other Livian sources to show the skill with which Livy adapted his materials to his purposes, and the way in which he reflects Augustan temperament and ideology. It is curious to note that Professor Burck takes no stand on the moral issue involved in the deviations from historical truth that Livy committed in his re-interpretation of the national epic.

Pleasant though modest in format, the book is marred by a number of misprints, which are annoying, however, only in the case of faulty text references (I have noted some ten instances where the error is serious enough to cause difficulties in locating a passage); on page 106 *tres societates . . . hominum undeviginti* (Livy 23.49.1) is translated as "drei Privatmänner."

KONRAD GRIES

QUEENS COLLEGE, FLUSHING, N. Y.

The Ion of Euripides. Translated into English prose with Introduction and Notes by D. W. Lucas. New York: Russell F. Moore, 1950. Pp. xix, 71. \$1.50.

The Medea of Euripides. Translated into English prose with Introduction and Notes by D. W. Lucas. New York: Russell F. Moore, 1950. Pp. xix, 58. \$1.50.

The character of these translations may be inferred from the prefatory note: "My aim," says Mr. Lucas, "has been to produce a translation uncolored by literary associations, neither importing what is lacking in the Greek in order to give a misleading familiarity, nor unnecessarily distracting the reader by the grotesqueness inseparable from literal translation from a language so very unlike our own."

Anyone unfamiliar with Greek can easily grasp the substance of the drama from the clear, readable English used by Mr. Lucas. It never lacks dignity, and stilted expressions, such as "pillared fane" and "hapless hand" are fortunately rare. But at no time are we made aware that the play was written by a poet. This could be accomplished only by another kind of translation which Mr. Lucas is purposely avoiding. Yet the loss—both literary and emotional—is great. His translation of the *Medea* does not suggest the breath-taking beauty of the chorus about Athens, with its note of high exaltation at the end of both strophe and antistrophe; nor can prose convey the essence of Ion's lyric, pervaded as it is by the radiant purity of mountain air at day-break and of the soul of a lad singing as he serves his god.

The best parts of these translations are longer passages of the "messenger-speech" type. The death of Jason's bride and Creusa's attempt to have Ion poisoned are vividly put before the reader in swift-moving narrative. Mr. Lucas has achieved his aim, and it is to be hoped that these little books, delightfully easy to hold or carry, will be widely read.

PEARL CLEVELAND WILSON

HUNTER COLLEGE

NOTES AND NEWS

This department deals with events of interest to classicists; the contribution of pertinent items is welcomed. Also welcome are items for the section of *Personalia*, which deals with appointments, promotions, fellowships, and other professionally significant activities of our colleagues in high schools, colleges, and universities.

The Classical League of the Lehigh Valley held its fifty-ninth semi-annual meeting on December 1, 1951, in Allentown, Pa. Papers were read by Professor W. E. Brown of Lafayette College, on "Hesiod, Callimachus, and the Latin Love Elegy," and by Professor Alice P. Tallmadge of Cedar Crest College, on "More Rocks than Rills." Elected as officers for 1951-1952 were: *President*, Professor George Tyler of Moravian College for Men; *Vice-President*, Professor Earl LeVerne Crum of Lehigh University; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Miss Mary L. Hess of Hellertown, Pa.

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**THE JOHN HAY FELLOWSHIPS
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The John Hay Whitney Foundation, in association with the American Council of Learned Societies, has just founded the John Hay Fellowships in the Humanities. The fellowships will be awarded to established, mature teachers in the public high schools, for the purpose of bringing these teachers into a university community for a year of study and exchange of experience. It is proposed that the recipients make use of the facilities of the university for their own continuing intellectual growth, but not that they present themselves as candidates for any degree. To make possible special programming the fellowships will be restricted to study at specific universities: in the first year at Columbia and Yale Universities, at which special advisers for the John Hay Fellows will be appointed.

In addition to the regular program of study to be arranged between the Fellow and the Adviser, there will be bi-weekly meetings of the group at each university with selected members of the faculty and distinguished visitors. Twice a year the entire group will be brought together for common discussion, and to this meeting the administrative officer of each Fellow's school will be invited.

It is anticipated that from the operation of this plan there will emerge a larger number of informed university and high school teachers and administrators concerned with improvements in teaching the humanities at both high school and university levels.

Each candidate must be nominated by the Superintendent of Schools of his local school system, by his

principal, or other official designated by the Superintendent. For the first year of operation, 1952-53, nominees will be considered from public school systems in four "pilot" regions of the United States: New York and New Jersey; Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia; Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska; and Washington and Oregon.

Men or women within the ages of 30 to 45, inclusive, who are holders of bachelor's degrees from recognized colleges or universities shall be eligible. The nominee must have at least five years of secondary-school teaching experience, the most recent two of which have been in the nominating school system where he shall be considered a permanent staff member. He must be actively engaged in teaching one of the following subjects: history, the social studies, languages, literature, arts, or music. Preference will be given to the nominee with a substantial background in his special field.

Each John Hay Fellow will receive for the academic year a basic stipend equal to the salary he would have earned from his school system, but in no case less than \$3,000. Tuition fees will be paid to the appropriate university. In addition, each Fellow will receive an allotment toward expenses occasioned by his temporary change of address as well as first-class rail transportation for himself and his primary dependents.

Requests for nomination forms and for any further information should be addressed to the Secretary of the Committee for the John Hay Fellows, Mr. E. K. Fretwell, Jr., American Council of Learned Societies, 1219 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Completed applications must be received by April 1, 1952.

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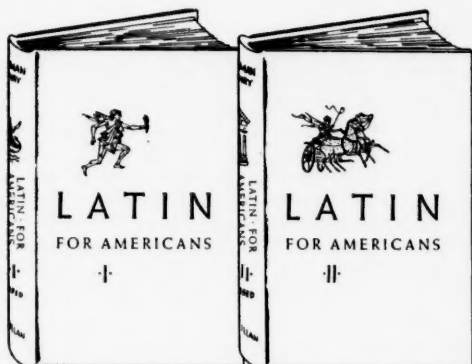
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